

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION

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AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 LA PAZ 7887/1

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PBOR MPOL EAID EAIR BL

SUBJ: REPORT ON VISIT OF DR. LUIGI EINAUDI, S/P, DEPT STATE,
TO BOLIVIA, NOV. 27 TO NOV. 30

1. SUMMARY: EINAUDI'S VISIT WAS HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL. HE MET WITH THE SENIOR STAFF OF THE U.S. MISSION; WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND HIS KEY OFFICIALS, WITH MINISTER OF COORDINATION AND A SELECTED GROUP OF WELL KNOWN AND INFLUENTIAL BOLIVIANS; AND WITH SEVERAL OTHER BOLIVIANS. ALL CONVERSATIONS WERE FRANK AND CANDID. NEWSPAPER COVERAGE WAS EXTENSIVE. PUBLIC REACTION WAS POSITIVE, AND MANY BOLIVIANS HAVE EXPRESSED PLEASURE THAT A LEADING CIVILIAN OFFICIAL OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE CAME TO BOLIVIA TO EXCHANGE VIEWS. THE FOLLOWING WERE THE MOST SIGNIFICANT THEMES RAISED BY THE BOLIVIANS:
A. BOLIVIA'S LANDLOCKED SITUATION WITH ITS ECONOMIC LIMITATIONS, ITS ADVERSE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT, AND THE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO REACH A SOLUTION.

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B. THE CHILE/PERU TENSION AND POTENTIAL ARMED CONFLICT AS A MAJOR THREAT TO BOLIVIAN VITAL TRANSPORTATION OUTLETS THROUGH PACIFIC PORTS AND AS A THREAT TO VIOLATE BOLIVIAN TERRITORY.

C. THE LINKAGE OF THESE TWO PROBLEMS REQUIRING BOLIVIA TO EMBARK ON A POLICY OF ARMS ACQUISITION, TO SEEK INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT, AND, IF NECESSARY, TO CONSIDER INITIATIVES TO UPSET THE PERU/CHILE EQUATION FOR BOLIVIAN BENEFIT.

D. THE DESIRE FOR U.S.G. ASSISTANCE IS HELPING CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH THE CHILE/PERU CONFLICT CAN BE TAMPED DOWN AND IN WHICH BOLIVIAN ASPIRATIONS FOR BETTER ACCESS TO THE SEA CAN BE ACHIEVED.

E. REQUESTS FOR US ECONOMIC HELP ON A PREFERENTIAL BASIS, A YEARNING FOR CLEARER US LEADERSHIP IN REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL FORA, A MORE ACTIVE PROGRAM OF COOPERATION FOR BOLIVIA'S DEVELOPMENT NEEDS GOING BEYOND PRESENT AID PROGRAMS TO INCLUDE EXIMBANK LENDING, FINANCING OF INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS, HELP TO ENABLE BOLIVIA TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF PRIVILEGES IN THE ANDEAN COMMON MARKET, MORE INTENSIVE SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION, STIMULATION OF PRIVATE US INVESTMENTS, AND LIBERALIZATION OF POLICIES ON BILATERAL CIVIL AVIATION TREATMENT TO PERMIT PREFERENCES OR COMPENSATION FOR LDCS, E.G. COMPENSATION WHEN POOR COUNTRIES ARE UNABLE TO EXPLOIT OPPORTUNITIES TO PROVIDE AIR SERVICES TO THE US.

2. ON THURSDAY, NOV. 28, DR. EINAUDI AND THE AMBASSADOR CALLED ON FOREIGN MINISTER, GENERAL GUZMAN. FOLLOWING A BRIEF PROTOCOLARY DISCUSSION AMPLY COVERED BY PRESS, TV AND RADIO, A THREE AND HALF HOUR SESSION WAS HELD WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER, THE SUB-SECRETARY, THE DIRECTOR OF FOREIGN POLICY, AND THE DIRECTOR OF ECONOMIC POLICY. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THE QUITO MEETING REACHED AN APPROPRIATE FINDING--THAT INSUFFICIENT GUARANTEES OF CUBAN NON-INTERVENTION WERE OBTAINED AND THAT TIME FOR MEDITATION WAS NOW AVAILABLE. SUB-SECRETARY OSTRIA CARRIED THE DIALOGUE WITH EINAUDI. HE EXPRESSED THE MAIN CONCERN OF BOLIVIA, APPREHENSION ABOUT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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NEGATIVE EFFECT ON BOLIVIA OF A CHILE/PERU CONFLICT. HE TIED BOLIVIA'S DEEPLY FELT NEED FOR AN EFFECTIVE OUTLET TO THE SEA WITH HIS COUNTRY'S WISH TO BE ABLE TO PREVENT EITHER CHILE OR PERU FROM VIOLATING ITS TERRITORY OR AIR SPACE. HE SAID THAT BOLIVIA WANTED TO RETAIN ITS FIRM POLICY OF NEUTRALITY BUT HAS TO ARM TO BE ABLE TO MAKE A CREDIBLE EFFORT IN THAT REGARD. OSTRIA SAID THAT DISINTERESTED AND STRONG POWERS IN THE HEMISPHERE, PRINCIPALLY THE US, MUST TAKE ON THE RESPONSIBILITY

BILITY OF HELPING TO CREATE AN ENVIRONMENT, USING OPPORTUNITIES IN REGIONAL CONFERENCES, OF ACTIVE SUPPORT FOR BOLIVIA'S NEED FOR AN OUTLET TO THE SEA. THIS SHOULD BE DONE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF EFFORTS TO DAMPEN DOWN THE CHILE AND PERU FEUD. BOLIVIA BELIEVES THAT THE POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT IS GREAT, AND POWERS SUCH AS BRAZIL, ARGENTINA, ECUADOR AND PARAGUAY WILL BE INVOLVED IN ANY OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES. THEREFORE, THIS PROBLEM LOOMS LARGE BUT IS NOT BEING TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY THE US. OSTRIA HINTED THAT BOLIVIAN POLICY MIGHT CHANGE TO COMMITTING DESTABILIZING ACTS AFFECTING THE BALANCE BETWEEN PERU AND CHILE ONCE BOLIVIA HAS ACQUIRED SUFFICIENT ARMS, IF WORLD POWERS (READ US) DO NOT UNDERTAKE TO REDUCE THE POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT AND AT THE SAME TIME OBTAIN A SEA ROUTE FOR BOLIVIA. ON ANOTHER LEVEL OF GENERALIZATION, OSTRIA NOTED THAT THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE OAS WAS BREAKING UP INTO MINI-BLOCS. HE ALSO EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT EFFORTS AT REFORM OF THE OAS WERE MEANINGLESS UNLESS THERE WAS A CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE OF THE MEMBERS. BOLIVIA'S POSITION IS THAT TINKERING WITH THE PROCEDURES AND THE STRUCTURE IS UNIMPORTANT AND THAT WHAT COUNTS WILL BE THE MATURING OF ATTITUDES.

3. FOREIGN MINISTER GUZMAN SECONDED HIS SUBORDINATE'S VIEWS AND OBSERVED THAT THE OAS AND THE RIO TREATY WERE OBVIOUSLY WEAKENED BY THE QUITO MEETING. HE SHOWED KEEN INTEREST IN HOW THE ARGENTINES PLANNED TO CARRY OUT THE NEXT MFM IN BUENOS AIRES.

4. EINAUDI PRESENTED THE US VIEWS ON THE TOPICS TREATED IN CANDID AND FRIENDLY TERMS. THE BOLIVIANS WELCOMED THE CHANCE

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TO HEAR HIS VIEWS BUT CONCENTRATED ON EXPRESSING BOLIVIAN FOREIGN POLICY DOCTRINE ON THE CHILE/PERU CONFLICT AND THE NEED FOR AN OUTLET TO THE SEA.

5. GENERAL CASANOVAS, SUB-SECRETARY OF THE MINISTRY OF TRANSPORTATION, IN CHARGE OF CIVIL AVIATION, WAS INVITED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO RAISE A SPECIFIC MATTER FOR BILATERAL TREATMENT. CASANOVAS COUCHED HIS PRESENTATION IN BROAD PRINCIPLES, SEEKING TO ENLIST USG SYMPATHY AND SUPPORT FOR A NEW US BILATERAL CIVIL AVIATION POLICY OF PREFERENCES FOR LDCS. HE CITED A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS, BORDERING AT TIMES ON CRISES IN THE HEMISPHERE BETWEEN THE US AND INDIVIDUAL LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS ON CIVIL AIR MATTERS. HE SAID THAT THESE AROSE FROM AN ULTRA-STRICT STATE DEPARTMENT POLICY IN TREATING WITH LDC'S ON AVIATION MATTERS REGARDLESS OF ECONOMIC POWER. HE URGED HIGH LEVEL USG ACCEPTANCE WITHIN THE NEW DIALOGUE FOR PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT OF WEAK COUNTRIES IN THEIR BILATERAL CIVIL AIR RELATIONS WITH THE US.

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SPECIFICALLY, HE POINTED OUT THAT BOLIVIA IS UNABLE TO DEVELOP THE CAPACITY FOR AIR SERVICE TO THE US, THUS THE USG SHOULD COMPENSATE BOLIVIA. IBERIA AND LUFTHANSA PAY BOLIVIA NOW. LAB, THE BOLIVIAN CARRIER, HAS NOW TWO 727'S AND HOPED TO BE ABLE TO INAUGURATE SERVICE TO THE US. ITS EFFORTS TO OBTAIN FIFTH FREEDOM PRIVILEGES FROM PERU AND ECUADOR HAVE FAILED. BOTH COUNTRIES SAY BOLIVIA HAS LET BRANIFF DOMINATE, AND IT SHOULD RESTRICT BRANIFF'S OPERATIONS. BRANIFF IS SOLICITING APPROVAL OF ITS OPERATING PERMIT IN BOLIVIA AND HAS REQUESTED ADDITIONAL ROUTES, SUCH AS BOGOTA-LA PAZ. LAB IS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO THE NEW ROUTE REQUEST AND THE GOB MAY HAVE TROUBLE GRANTING BRANIFF'S OPERATING PERMIT. CASANOVAS ASKED EINAUDI ON AN URGENT BASIS TO SEEK USG REVIEW OF ITS AVIATION POLICIES.

6. ALTHOUGH EINAUDI SAID HE WAS A POLICY ADVISER, NOT A DECISION-MAKER, AND CERTAINLY NOT KNOWLEDGEABLE ON CIVIL AIR MATTERS, HE FELT THE PRESENTATION MERITED STUDY. HE SAID HE WOULD LOOK INTO THE MATTER ON HIS RETURN AND URGED THE

BOLIVIANS TO SUBMIT A MEMORANDUM FOR DEPARTMENTAL CONSIDERATION.

7. UPON DEPARTING FROM THE MEETING, EINAUDI WAS MET BY A LARGE NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERMEN AND RADIO PERSONNEL. QUESTIONS WERE WIDE-RANGING, INCLUDING US POSITION ON PETROLEUM PRICES AND US INTENTIONS AS TO A VISIT BY PRESIDENT BANZER TO THE US. THE NEXT DAY THE PRESS CARRIED HEADLINES, PICTURES, AND ARTICLES ON THE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS. THE ONLY SOUR NOTE WAS A BRIEF REMARK ON ONE RADIO STATION THAT EINAUDI'S VISIT WAS MOTIVATED BY A US POLICY TO TRY TO LOWER PETROLEUM PRICES.

8. ON FRIDAY, NOV. 29TH, THE MINISTER OF COORDINATION, GENERAL JUAN LECHIN, HOSTED A MEETING WITH ABOUT FIFTEEN WELL-KNOWN BOLIVIANS, INCLUDING JAIME QUIROGA, FORMER MINISTER OF FINANCE AND PROMINENT PRIVATE SECTOR MEDIUM-MINING OFFICIAL, ANTONIO SANCHEZ DE LOZADA, EX-AMBASSADOR TO US, ROLANDO PRADA, GENERAL MANAGER OF THE STATE PETROLEUM COMPANY (YPFB), ADALBERTO VIOLAND, FORMER HEAD OF THE PRIVATE BUSINESSMEN'S CONFEDERATION, AND NOW DIRECTOR OF THE BANCO DEL ESTADO, HIGH OFFICIALS OF PLANNING, MINISTRY OF MINES, PRIVATE BANKS, AND THE ARMED FORCES DEVELOPMENT
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INSTITUTE. IN THIS SESSION, THE AREA COVERED WAS BROAD, THE OBSERVATIONS WENT FROM SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS TO THEORETICAL CONCEPTS, AND OFTEN THE BOLIVIAN PRESENTATIONS WERE CONTRADICTORY. THE FOLLOWING WERE THEMES OF CONSEQUENCE:

A. EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE BY THE US TO HELP CALM THE CHILE/PERU CONFLICT AND AT THE SAME TIME FACILITATE THE ACCESS OF BOLIVIA TO BETTER SEAPORT FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

B. THE US SHOULD TRY TO IMPROVE THE OPERATIONS OF THE IDB SO AS TO EXPEDITE ITS LOAN PROCESSING.

C. THE US SHOULD PUT MORE EMPHASIS ON BROAD RANGE OF PREFERENCES IN RELATIONS WITH LDCS, PARTICULARLY THE POORER COUNTRIES, AND NOT JUST ON AID LOANS. PREFERENCES SHOULD INCLUDE TRADE, IDB AND IBRD LENDING, TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, SCIENTIFIC ASSISTANCE, ACCESS TO MARKETS, EDUCATION OF LATINS IN THE US, AND GREATER HELP FOR SUB-REGIONAL GROUPS.

D. THE US MUST RECOGNIZE THAT IT IS THE STRONGEST AND WEALTHIEST NATION IN THE HEMISPHERE AND THUS HAS A LEADERSHIP ROLE WHICH IT CANNOT NEGLECT. THE HEMISPHERE HAS BEEN BOUND TOGETHER BY GEOGRAPHY, FRATERNAL TIES AND HISTORY SO THAT THIS IS AN AREA OF SPECIAL AND MAJOR INTEREST FOR THE US. THE US MUST LEARN HOW TO GUIDE RESPONSIBLY AND COOPERATE EFFECTIVELY WITH UNEQUAL STATES IN THIS REGION.

9. DURING THE EVENING OF NOV. 29 EINAUDI MET WITH GUSTAVO MEDEIROS, EX-FOREIGN MINISTER AND HEAD OF THE BOLIVIAN DELEGATION TO THE CARACAS LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE; GUILLERMO ELIO, FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER AND PRESIDENT OF THE LA PAZ DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION; AND WALTER MONTENEGRO, FORMER SUB-SECRETARY OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. ALL THREE WERE PROMINENT IN THE BOLIVIAN MARITIME COMMISSION WHICH HAS JUST SUBMITTED ITS REPORT TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER. THEY SUMMARIZED THEIR FINDINGS BRIEFLY. BOLIVIA MUST, THEY SAID, SOLVE ITS PROBLEM OF AN OUTLET TO THE SEA PEACEFULLY THROUGH DIPLOMACY. A CHILE/PERU CONFLICT WOULD BE A DISASTER FOR THOSE DIRECTLY CONCERNED AND OTHERS, INCLUDING THE US. EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE NOW BY THE MAJOR POWERS, INCLUDING THE US, TO FIND WAYS TO SOLVE THIS
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PROBLEM. IN THE SOLUTION, A BETTER ECONOMIC ROUTE FOR BOLIVIA'S FOREIGN TRADE THROUGH PACIFIC PORTS MUST BE FORMED. A POSITIVE EFFORT MIGHT BE MADE TO CREATE A DEVELOPMENT CENTER PERHAPS IN ARICA WITH BENEFITS FOR CHILE, PERU, AND, OF COURSE, BOLIVIA. THE NORTH OF CHILE AND THE SOUTH OF PERU ARE THEIR POOREST AREAS. BOLIVIA HAS RESOURCES--WATER, MINERALS, AND PROBABLY PETROLEUM--WHICH COULD BE USED IN AN IMAGINATIVE PROJECT FOR THIS REGION. BOLIVIA WOULD BE

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UNWISE TO TRY TO FLOAT THIS IDEA UNLESS IT HAD ADVANCE
KNOWLEDGE THAT THE US AND OTHERS, PERHAPS VENEZUELA, BRAZIL
AND THE IDB, ARE PREPARED TO HELP. SECRETARY OF STATE
KISSINGER SHOULD PERSONALLY INVOLVE HIMSELF IN THIS PROBLEM
AS HE IS IDEALLY SUITED TO BRING ABOUT A SOLUTION. IF THE
US CARES ABOUT THE MOST SENSITIVE CRISIS DEVELOPING IN THE
HEMISPHERE, IT WILL MOVE TO RESOLVE THE CHILE/PERU CONFLICT
AND HELP BOLIVIA ACQUIRE A BETTER ACCESS TO THE SEA.

10. COMMENT: THE EINAUDI VISIT WAS HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL
AND MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONDUCT OF OUR
BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH BOLIVIA, ONE OF THE POOREST AND
PERHAPS THE MOST ISOLATED LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY. THE
BOLIVIANS WERE QUITE OBVIOUSLY DELIGHTED TO HAVE THE CHANCE
TO PRESENT THEIR VIEWS TO A SYMPATHETIC AND INTELLIGENT
SENIOR USG CIVILIAN OFFICIAL. THEY WERE INTERESTED IN
EINAUDI'S COMMENTS, INCLUDING REALISTIC COMMENTS ON LATIN
AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY AND THE INABILITY OF THE US TO
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SOLVE ALL HEMISPHEREIC PROBLEMS. THIS MESSAGE DOES NOT SET
FORTH EINAUDI'S REMARKS WHICH WERE CONSISTENT WITH
US POLICY POSITIONS. THIS CABLE ATTEMPTS TO CONVEY THE
SENSE OF THE BOLIVIAN MOOD AT THIS TIME AS REVEALED IN
THESE UNIQUE DISCUSSIONS WITH DR. EINAUDI. THE DEPTH OF
BOLIVIAN GOOD-WILL AND FRIENDLINESS TO THE US WAS APPARENT.
THE BOLIVIANS SHOWED THEMSELVES CAPABLE OF EXPRESSING THEM-
SELVES CLEARLY AND CONCISELY ABOUT THEIR OWN INTERESTS.
IN HEMISPHERIC MATTERS THERE IS AN OBVIOUS BOLIVIAN
YEARNING FOR US LEADERSHIP BUT A FIRM HOPE THAT THIS GUID-
ANCE WILL BE USED FOR BOLIVIA'S BENEFIT ESPECIALLY IN
RELATIONSHIP TO THEIR TWIN PREOCCUPATIONS--THE CHILE/PERU
TENSION AND POSSIBLE CONFLICT, AND THE DESIRE FOR A MORE
EFFECTIVE TRANSPORTATION LINK TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD THROUGH
THE PACIFIC COAST.
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